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# JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Nonschool Agencies in the Development of  
Nationalism and Internationalism

Francis J. Brown, *Editor*

Media of Propaganda *Francis J. Brown* 323

Unity of Purpose; Diversity of Method  
*Esther Caukin Brunauer* 331

Nationalism and Internationalism  
Through the Churches *E. B. Sweeney, Louis Minsky,  
and Roswell P. Barnes* 338

The Role of Labor Organizations in Fostering Attitudes  
of Nationalism and Internationalism *Spencer Miller, Jr.* 353

Commercial Organization Attitude Toward  
International Trade *E. L. Bacher and C. D. Snow* 358

Patriotic Societies (Including Organizations that Publish  
Material) *Alexander Gardiner, Mrs. William A. Becker,  
and Henry G. Wellman* 365

Editorial, 321

Book Reviews, 380

FEBRUARY 1937

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# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

The March 1936 issue of THE JOURNAL was devoted to a summary of the activities of selected school systems and professional educational organizations in building a wholesome nationalism and the inculcation of international understanding. At that time it was pointed out that the school was but one of the many agencies seeking to develop such attitudes and that a future number would be given to the activities and programs of nonschool agencies and organizations.

The material for this issue has been selected and prepared on three basic premises: that attitudes are the outgrowth of the total environment of the child, not the product of any single agency; that as far as possible there should be an element of consistency running through this entire environment; and that increasing co-operation of all of the agencies which touch the life of the child is essential. This is as true in the development of attitudes of nationalism and internationalism as in those that are more obvious.

A chauvinistic patriotism can never be a sound foundation upon which to build sympathetic world understanding. Likewise, a too ardent internationalism which ignores the subtle but deep-seated loyalties to state and country defeats its own purpose. Out of the tangled and tensely emotionalized woof of seemingly conflicting loyalties must be found a middle ground. The all too frequent sense of antagonism—an "either or" attitude—must be eradicated and in its place must be developed a firm conviction that each

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ideal is a complement of the other; that nationalism implies a recognition of each state's responsibility in the family of nations; and that internationalism can become a reality only as it ensures the autonomy of each of its members.

That this ideal is not wholly achieved is abundantly evidenced in the following articles. That organizations do not agree in even apparently fundamental concepts of method is equally apparent. However, through all the varying approaches to the problem there runs one common purpose, the maintenance of the peace.

The major difficulty in the planning of this number was in the choice of organizations and the necessity of space limitation. Each of the three agencies summarized in the first article might well have been extended to include the entire issue. The discussion of method might have been extended almost indefinitely. Likewise, it has been necessary to select only a few of the literally hundreds of organizations that are carrying on significant work in this field. The many nonschool agencies dealing exclusively with children and the youth organizations have been intentionally omitted as a later issue will deal with "Youth in a Modern World." The organizations included were chosen to present a wide range of areas of service and to indicate something at least of the careful thought and conscientious effort that is being expended in the development of attitudes of nationalism and internationalism.

## MEDIA OF PROPAGANDA

FRANCIS J. BROWN

*New York University*

Few words in our entire vocabulary are as difficult of definition as the oft-banded phrases "nationalism" and "internationalism." In popular usage the former varies from loyalty to the cultural heritage without reference to geographic boundaries such as the nationalism of the Jews, to loyalty to a political state which may include a polyglot of peoples as in the United States, Yugoslavia, or the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. To some, nationalism is a sacred ideal which weaves a halo about the time-honored instruments of government and should be the conscious objective of all the agencies of education; to others it is considered as narrow patriotism, even chauvinism, and must invariably lead to the altar of Mars.

Likewise, internationalism is conceived by some to be the highest ideal of mankind wherein national boundaries will become decreasingly important except for purposes of internal government. Others think of internationalism as an agency for collective security with complete autonomy guaranteed to each nation. Still others conceive it as but the fallacious dream of a visionary and detrimental to human welfare. To both the first and last group the two concepts are antithetical, the first advocating internationalism, the last nationalism. To the middle group they are complementary and must be developed simultaneously, each a continual check on the other.

While both terms have specific material manifestations—the vast but now ironical League of Nations building at Geneva, the Covenant, the International Labor Office, and the Court of International Justice; the Constitution, the pledge of allegiance, and the flag—basically they represent only ideologies. It is this fact which results in the confusion indicated above, and makes them the dire

product of the sum total of the experience of the individual. As an artifact of the mind they become emotionalized and are directed by irrational motives rather than the intellect. Their exterior symbols become elements for divine worship or agencies upon which is to be poured the last drop from the vial of jealousy and hatred. A flag becomes holier than a human life and a symbol greater than that for which it stands, while the youth of a nation are but marionettes, dancing to their death.

Why then seek to analyze the agencies through which nationalism and internationalism are developed? The answer is implied in the above statement: the ideology is the direct product of the total environmental experience of the individual. An analysis of the agencies carrying forward a planned program for the directing of this experience will shed some light on the nature of the ideology of the succeeding generation. The three media for the control of experience which reaches the largest audience are the press, the radio, and the motion picture. Their influence is based not alone upon their numerical importance but is enhanced because of the fact that the individual is in a receptive state of mind and, since the learnings are indirect, the material is accepted, for the most part, uncritically.

#### THE PRESS

It is a far cry from the little newsletter published in Boston in 1704 to the modern daily of thirty to sixty pages printed, collated, folded, and laid down in endless procession ready to be sped by truck, train, and airplane to the corner newsstands and distant hamlets. The daily circulation in the United States is estimated at approximately thirty-six million. Here is a tremendous medium for the development of attitudes and the molding of public opinion. Its influence is measured not by the avowedly propagandist section of the paper or those published primarily to present a single point of view, but rather by the indirect effects through the rela-

tive importance given to the various news items, the size and wording of headlines, and the choice of pictures.

An even cursory analysis of the daily press is abundant testimony of its influence in developing attitudes of nationalism—even a war mania. A large metropolitan daily devoted a fourth of its front page to a picture of the Italian bombing air armada; the rotogravure of another paper gave an entire section to pictures of massed men, tanks, and battleships; and of the twelve headlines on today's front page of even the more conservative *New York Times* four are of a character to fan the rising flame of war: "Czechs Resent Nazi Gibe at Bolshevik Outpost"; "France is Strong, Blum Warns Foes"; "Eden Warns Hitler Britain Will Fight to Guard Belgium"; "Roosevelt Pledges Peace, but Warns Aggressors."

Of course it may be stated that the present emphasis is but the accurate recording of events, but with equal pertinence the question may well be asked if it is ever possible to record events impartially. Four factors tend to bear out this implication: the interlocking of international news agencies so factually demonstrated by O. W. Riegel in his book *Mobilizing for Chaos*; the abbreviated transmission of news and its necessary elaboration by local editors; and the fact, clearly stated by Ivy Lee,<sup>1</sup> that "The effort to state an absolute fact is simply an attempt to achieve what is humanly impossible; all I can do is to give you my interpretation of the facts."

A significant illustration of the latter is presented by Davis:<sup>2</sup>

The Epworth League of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Evanston held a meeting to discuss "The German Youth Movement" at which a conscientious objector who had served time in Leavenworth during the war was one of the speakers. At the conclusion of the meeting an American Legion member made a reply but there was no riot or revolutionary remarks. The next day the Chicago press carried the fol-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Doob, L. W., *Propaganda* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), page 335.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome Davis, *Capitalism and Its Culture* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), p. 311.

lowing headlines, "Hiss Flag in Evanston Church," "Pacifist Gibes at U. S. Cause Wild Sabbath Service Scene," "Near Riot as Allison Talks at Evanston," "War Heroes Booed." In this case, as in many others, the bias of nationalism came in to warp the real facts. In everything having to do with international relations this is a constant source of trouble.

The fourth factor is much less tangible, yet it undoubtedly affects the recording of the news; that is, the continual desire on the part of its readers for the sensational. There is little of dramatic quality in peace; war stirs the blood and fires the imagination. Internationalism is an abstract concept, and even its objective manifestations are too far removed to arouse the enthusiasm of the average reader. Nationalism, however, arouses a dominant sense of loyalty; its material objects—the flag, the national anthem, a mighty battleship—have instant appeal. Is it surprising that the press continually appeals to these irrational factors and even enhances them?

This discussion should not be left wholly on this more negative note. A very significant attempt on the part of newspapermen to interpret public opinion to its readers are the conferences of leading authorities called by the *New York Herald Tribune* to discuss world problems. *The New York Times* prepares a very attractive set of monthly summaries: News Trends and two News Highlights, one on National Affairs, the other on International Relations. These are but two of many similar special services rendered by the press in this field.

In the short space of this article it is impossible to do more than recognize the important influence of the more than four thousand individual magazines with a total circulation in excess of thirty-three million, or of the flood of new books published annually (5,809 in 1934). The last quarterly bibliography of "Recent Books on International Relations" published by *Foreign Affairs* lists 180 titles published within the past year of which 113 are in English.

It is probable that the influence of both magazines and books in the development of attitudes of nationalism and international-



ism is very much less than that of the newspaper. The reason lies partly in the fact that they are less frequent visual stimuli, as the average individual seldom spends as much time reading magazines and books as he does with his daily paper. The difference in composition is another factor, as the headlines and lead paragraphs are more pungent than the context of magazines and books. The most important difference, however, is the selectivity of one's reading in the latter and the lack of such selection in the former. The majority of the articles and books in this field are written with the distinct purpose of propaganda. This being true the reader selects his material more often to find justification for his opinion rather than to challenge it. If it does not conform to his accepted beliefs he tends to appraise it critically not on its merits but on the extent of its agreement with what he accepts. The rest is frequently discarded. Again, this is irrational behavior, but of such is the woof and web of our sense of loyalty to nationalistic ideals.

#### THE RADIO

In the short span of fifteen years the power of the radio has grown from an uncertain, crackling voice coming in through uncomfortable headphones from a near-by station to a smooth-flowing voice entering 27,000,000 homes from stations from the far corners of the earth and even from the stratosphere and the bed of the ocean. In 1934 the broadcasts of one national chain included 137 programs originating in foreign countries. Today any schoolboy may switch his miniature twenty-dollar radio to short wave and pick up London, Melbourne, or Tokyo!

What a tremendous force for the development of international understanding. The most fantastic dreamer of a Utopia could not have conceived a more potent agency. Only a few years ago such an enthusiast stated that "The radio industry in America has played a major role, not only in the development of a national consciousness in our own people, but also in the cosmopolitan



consciousness of the world at large. More than all the peace conferences in history, it has served to make the concept of 'Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men' a reality, and, taking the world by the hand, has led it one big step farther down that shadowy trail that ends in Utopia."

O. W. Riegel in the reference previously cited replies to the above statement from a realistic point of view as he writes,

The trail is shadowy indeed, and the direction is certainly downward. Instead of bringing Utopian cosmopolitanism, it is much more likely that the radio will accentuate narrow nationalistic differences. There is, unfortunately, no statistical data on the amount of nationalistic propaganda which is broadcast from the stations of the world, but sufficient is known of general conditions to warrant the assertion that the underlying motive of most radio broadcasting is the inculcation of national patriotism. From an international point of view, the seizure and exploitation of radio to fortify the patchwork of nationalism has created a modern Babel. International broadcasting is perceived as a weapon of propaganda, and betrays an absence of international consciousness.

While it is true, certainly, that the above statement applies more specifically to foreign than to American broadcasting, the fact that a single Sunday afternoon address teeming with nationalistic assertions could have brought such a flood of telegrams and letters of protest as to be a significant factor in the defeat of our ratification of the Protocols of the World Court is abundant testimony of its potentiality for the development of a policy of isolation at a time when the world was still grasping for some form of collective security.

#### THE MOTION PICTURE

The third medium of propaganda for nationalism or internationalism is the motion picture. Like the newspaper and the radio its potentiality is enhanced by the uncritical attitude of the observer. That it does affect attitudes has been objectively demonstrated in the Payne Fund studies of motion pictures partially summarized in

the November issue of THE JOURNAL and published in twelve volumes by Macmillan.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps no agency of education is so filled with contradiction as the motion-picture industry. While it produces such powerful anti-war dramas as *All Quiet on the Western Front* and *Things to Come*, it also casts such war-hero characterizations as *Pride of the Marines* and *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. It cries out against mob hysteria in *Fury* and inflames mob emotions through flag-waving cadets in *Shipmates Forever* and *Annapolis Farewell*. It shows beautiful shorts of other peoples and other lands and yet traditionally portrays certain nationals or races as hatchetmen, thieves, and outcasts. It presents a newsreel of a peace dinner and permits General Mitchell to declare in his opening sentence, "Our next war will come with an Asiatic power—Japan."<sup>9</sup>

The most sensitive nerve of the industry originates in the box office. If the average citizen pays to see the motion-picture corporation utilize army and navy personnel and American battleships in the production of seventeen films exclusive of shorts and newsreels, we shall continue to have the glorification of militant nationalism and war preparedness propaganda. However, if the receipts in the box office demonstrate that such films do not pay dividends they will speedily be discontinued.

The potentiality of each of the above media of propaganda is almost limitless. If nationalism and internationalism are but ideologies created by the sum total of the experience of the individual, then there must be increasing concern for the type of experience portrayed through press, radio, and photoplay. Hovering fearfully on the abyss of suicidal war, we tolerate if we do not encourage the flagrant portrayal of ardent militant propaganda. Paying huge sums

<sup>8</sup> See especially: R. C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, and M. A. May and F. Shuttleworth, *Relationship of Motion Pictures to the Character and Attitudes of Children*.

<sup>9</sup> For an excellent analysis of peace and war propaganda write for free copies of *Bulletin on Current Films*, published by the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

for propagandist organizations for peace we applaud the waving flag and the marching of men. Fostering movements for international understanding we are frightened into the largest preparedness program in peace-time history.

Constantly torn between conflicting loyalties, between rational and irrational factors, will we permit ourselves to drift or will we stir ourselves to take note of the fact that such agencies of propaganda are subject to the organized expression of public opinion?

## UNITY OF PURPOSE; DIVERSITY OF METHOD

ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER

*American Association of University Women*

Education to develop international attitudes, whether it involves young people or adults, is part of the tendency of the centuries since the Renaissance to regard all human problems as capable of solution by educational methods. The discovery that man could control and direct physical forces on a large scale led to the conclusion that social forces might also be controlled and directed. Social forces being nothing more or less than the behavior of human beings, efforts to alter human behavior in one aspect of life after another are constantly being made. The invention of new methods of communication have heightened these efforts. This process has been going on long enough to demonstrate that the theory that social forces can be controlled by conscious effort is valid. It has still to be demonstrated, however, whether intellectual and rational methods or nonrational, emotional appeals are more effective in the long run. There is something of both in the educational work being done today to mold international attitudes.

Strictly speaking, education to develop international attitudes is not synonymous with peace education. It is possible to know all about international relations and to understand other peoples, and still to consider that war is the only way of acting in certain international situations. It is also possible to know and care very little about other peoples and about international organization, and still to be a confirmed pacifist. For the most part, the international educational work that is being carried on in this country among adults is being done by organizations primarily interested in international peace, and, conversely, most peace organizations consider educational processes the surest way to attain their end. Consequently, while we remember always that there may be a difference between "international-mindedness" and "peace-mindedness" we shall dis-

cuss the educational work actually being done in this field, in the terms of the peace movement.

The greatest impulse that the peace movement has ever had was the World War, and although there were peace societies and pacifists before 1914 we can date the beginning of a widespread effort to develop public opinion for peace to the moment when the concept of a "war to end war" was adopted. The failure of the United States to join the League of Nations may even have brought about a more intensive and more distinctively "educational" campaign than there would have been if the support of collective international action to maintain peace had become the official policy of the nation.

The immediate postwar period saw the founding of a number of new organizations to carry on various types of peace activity and the enlargement of the program of old organizations to make room for work in this field. The final article in this issue briefly summarizes their activities.

A distinctive feature of the American peace movement is the extent to which organizations formed originally for other purposes have set up departments to work for peace, using various names but having substantially the same end. Women's organizations and religious groups are the principal societies working in this way. Naturally, they differ in the extent to which the national body takes responsibility for this part of the program. Some of them maintain staff members at their national headquarters, whose principal work it is to guide the international educational work of the local groups. In others a voluntary committee makes general recommendations as to emphases and as to sources of study material, but local initiative determines what is actually done. The membership in these organizations is overlapping to some extent, but not enough to make it unnecessary for each body to carry on a program in the international field, particularly since the needs, interests, and preparation of the bulk of the members does vary

from one organization to another. However, as shown in the last article, coöperation in certain aspects of their work has been found essential by these organizations.

With so many groups working from almost as many different angles toward the common end of maintaining international peace, there is bound to be great variety in method. Many organizations are using several different methods at once, however, so that we shall not attempt to catalogue methods according to the organizations using them. Also, we must rule out of the discussion projects whose purpose is immediate influence upon governmental action, even though their educational value is sometimes the only compensation for their failure in obtaining concrete results. For example, the Peace in Party Platforms Project of the National Peace Conference early this year was undoubtedly of great importance in drawing attention to issues of foreign policy in our national political contests, but the immediate effects, in terms of political planks, were negligible. Perhaps the most accurate way to distinguish educational from political effort is to say that political activity has an immediate, specific end, while educational work seeks to establish a reservoir of public sentiment which will automatically be drawn upon when foreign-policy issues are decided.

Methods of education for international understanding differ little, if at all, from techniques for disseminating knowledge and molding attitudes in other fields of public affairs. A greater effort has to be made to develop realistic concepts of international situations, because they are likely to be far away from the experience of the individual citizen, and his potential influence over the course of international events is not always apparent. That may be one reason why a greater effort is actually made to educate citizens about international problems than about any other single aspect of government. It may be for this reason, also, that there is constant experimentation with methods and materials, with a noticeable trend toward emphasizing the graphic and dramatic.



Aside from visual devices, such as posters, motion pictures, exhibits, and pictured statistics, educational techniques fall into the general classifications of absorption, dramatization, and self-activity. Lectures belong largely to the category of gaining knowledge and attitudes by absorption. Where audiences are already well informed, or where lectures are given in a well-rounded series, this method has the advantage of disseminating new information and new interpretations in a way that saves time and energy. Also, a particularly challenging lecturer will stimulate the desire for new knowledge. It must be recognized, however, that many lectures are given to poorly prepared audiences that have developed a habit of passive listening. The custom of confining an audience's reactions to questions following the address is indicative of this passive attitude—except for the few brave souls who have their own ideas on the subject and find the question period a good place to air them, carefully using the introductory device, "Isn't it true that . . .?" The worst result of the desultory lecture system is the creation of a class of lecture-listeners who are sure they know all about international problems because so-and-so said such-and-such. Awareness of this difficulty has led to the development of modifications of platform-audience relationships, such as the forum, which is widely used by the town halls in which Commissioner Studebaker is interested. Here, questions are asked of the speaker by experts, and are so designed as to bring out the fundamental issues and differences of opinion.

The forum method goes over partly into dramatization techniques. Dramatic presentation of international questions sometimes appears in the form of model meetings of various bodies that deal with these problems. The League of Nations Association, for example, has popularized Model Assemblies of the League of Nations and Model Council Meetings. Other groups, on their own, have set up model presentations of conflicts over such problems as Manchukuo and Ethiopia. Sometimes the model session is used to



demonstrate procedures, but it is also frequently used to make more vivid the clash of opinions and feelings.

The panel method is a more sophisticated way of dramatizing controversy. It is a refinement and elaboration of the old-fashioned debate. The most effective panel presentation is the one in which the participants carry on before the audience a real give-and-take discussion under the guidance of a leader who keeps the issues clear and summarizes the points. Sometimes a panel discussion takes the form of a symposium, or series of brief speeches, each presenting a different point of view. It is more difficult for an audience to follow than the group discussion, but much easier for the participants. In either form much depends upon the chairman, since without signposts the total effect is confusion, for an audience does not know much about the subject to begin with. The dramatization of conflicting opinion, while it commands attention and enlarges participation, sometimes leaves in members of the audience a feeling of hopelessness over the prospect of ever reaching anything like a conclusion about public issues. Like the lecture method, it needs to be used judiciously and is most effective when the audience is well prepared.

In the last analysis, there is no substitute for mental effort in acquiring an understanding of international problems, any more than there is in learning about physics or biology. Individuals may, and frequently do, pursue courses of study for the purpose of being better informed and more broad-minded about international questions, but group study offers advantages for the person who finds it difficult to find his way through the intricacies of a new field of knowledge, or who lacks the initiative to keep going on such a project, just on his own steam.

The usual study groups on international subjects are sometimes criticized on the grounds that they tend to emphasize contemplation to the detriment of action. During a short period the criticism may be true, because the first effect of intensive study of any sub-

ject is a despair of ever reaching any conclusion about it. At least one organization has carried on an international educational program long enough, however, to have learned that the local groups which have done the best and most fundamental studying have, for the most part, carried on the most distinctive projects in their communities, and are the most to be relied upon when there is need for action. It is quite true, however, that many people cannot get interested in a study program that seems to have no issues in action, and so techniques have been worked out to combine study with a purposeful formation of opinion—the Marathon Round Tables of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War being a good example of this technique. Here the program is planned for a series of meetings on a concrete subject like “The Evolving Foreign Policy of the United States.” Lesson sheets are sent out with brief outlines and with questions that involve the formulation of opinion. In giving answers an attempt is made to reach the “common mind.” A record is kept of the agreements and disagreements reached after discussion, and summarized at the end of the course. To make the Marathon Round Tables more truly vehicles of expressing opinion, State round tables are held, with representatives from a number of groups, and the results of their discussions are sent to the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War where they play some part in the shaping of the recommendations adopted for future work.

Carrying on a program of international education requires not only stimulation of interest and devising of techniques, but also the provision of guidance materials. There is complaint from the field that literature is difficult to obtain or, if obtainable, it is so voluminous and diffused as to make it impossible for an individual who cannot devote all his time to the subject to find his way about and get the essential facts. Consequently, efforts to provide materials lie mainly in two directions: the statement of the most important facts in an easily understandable form, and the outlining of

ways to use a mass of miscellaneous literature in order to get at facts. Thus, there is published a large amount of literature in pamphlet form by most of the organizations in the peace movement. Pamphlets have the advantage of being inexpensive and easy to obtain, and recently the custom of preparing sets of pamphlets on different subjects has grown up. Thus, the Marathon Round Tables are supplied with kits containing study outlines and pamphlets, and the National League of Women Voters got out a kit of pamphlets and copies of important documents for the study of neutrality legislation. The present tendency is toward simplification of study guides and source material, a trend which serves a useful purpose at the moment because people can be reached in this way.

In the rush to fill up the gaps in the knowledge and understanding of international problems of generations educated almost entirely before the end of the World War there has not been much opportunity to consider some of the more general standards of world citizenship. Is it most important that large numbers of people should be won to the attitude that the only safety of the world lies in the preservation of international peace? Is it more vital that they should come to support certain concrete measures whose aim is to maintain peace? Should their education concern itself less with the concepts of international affairs than with creating mental flexibility and a spirit of tolerance? Or should the education of the citizen of the world lie in all these directions at once? By the time any sort of answer can be given to these questions the generation now in school will probably have come to adulthood, with some preparation to act on issues of foreign policy. If the work in the schools is well done, the present intensive work with adults will eventually be extinguished, but for the time being it is one of the most challenging tasks of the day to demonstrate the ability of man to save himself from one of his worst enemies—the habit of going to war over controversies between nations.

## NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM THROUGH THE CHURCHES

### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE PROMOTION OF PEACE ATTITUDES

E. B. SWEENEY

#### *Catholic Association for International Peace*

"Peace to this household" was the salutation bidden by the Founder of the Catholic Church to be given by His Apostles in their spread of the Gospel throughout the world. To diffuse the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount; to develop and expose through the teaching church as a whole the principles of the moral law which determine the rights and duties of human societies; to establish the canon law, crystallizing these principles for the direction alike of rulers and subjects, clergy and laity; to furnish spiritual sanctions which reinforce obedience to the law and to the law of charity—these were and are the great contributions of the Catholic Church to the peace and order of mankind.

That these contributions have been made by the authorities of the Church down through the centuries is evident from the historical records found in such works as *The Catholic Church and Peace Efforts*, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, *The Peace Activities of the Church During the Last Three Hundred Years*, and the numerous other writings of eminent scholars. From the very nature of its origin, the Church has been and must be one of unifying and pacifying all peoples, and both its tradition and historical documents are proof of this consistency.

The pages of Church history are filled with accounts of papal arbitrations in the settlement of international and national disputes. The works of Suárez, the Jesuit, and Vitoria, the Dominican, as well as the ecclesiastical authors of numerous treaties of peace during and following the Middle Ages are familiar to all historians. The long and successful endeavors to suppress feudal warfare in western Europe by "The Peace of God" and "The Truce of God"

need no description. The constant peace efforts of many of the popes from the earliest times down through the Middle Ages and on down to our own day are not new to historians and persons concerned with international problems. These sovereign pontiffs have not hesitated to lay down the principles of world relations as well as the lines upon which solutions of social, industrial, and economic questions should be answered in the existing condition of human society.

Throughout the history of the Church the pacific function of the pope presupposed the coöperation of his brother bishops and the clergy. From at least the seventeenth century onward the papal appeals for peace in view of a widespread war or danger of war have for the most part been addressed to the bishops. Benedict XV was ceaselessly enjoining the episcopate on both sides in the Great War to pray and labor for peace. And Pius XI's pronouncement upon disarmament and the economic crisis takes the form of an Apostolic Letter to the bishops of the Catholic world, stirring them to action. The same Pontiff in his Christmas address to the cardinals in 1930 defines thus the pacifying function of the Catholic Church as a whole "The glory and the duty of this apostolate of peace belongs principally to us and to all those who are called to be the Ministers of the God of peace; but here is also a vast and magnificent field of action for the whole of the Catholic laity whom we do not cease to invite and to call to participate in this Apostolate of the Hierarchy."

The press, the pulpit, and the lecture platform today are indicative of the mission of the Catholic Church in carrying on its efforts for world peace and closer union among the peoples of the different nations. In today's newspapers (December 1, 1936), we read the pastoral letter of His Eminence Santiago Luis Cardinal Copello, Archbishop of Buenos Aires and Primate of Argentina, urging daily prayers for the success of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires. It says, in part:

The Church, whose mission is specially spiritual and whose goal is to achieve peace between God and man, cannot refrain from collaborating in the search for the solution of the problem of international peace. The Church is essentially pacific itself and a messenger of peace among the nations. Peace is the greatest good that can come to man. As Christians and as Argentines following our glorious tradition of peace, we must all work for peace. Therefore, beloved children, we seek your collaboration in support of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, that God may give light to the delegates of all the American States who are to discuss in our city the best methods of maintaining peace. Let us pray for them that their work may be a blessing to the world.

In these days when men are hard put to find a source wherein justice, the moral law, and fair impartiality might reign for the settlement of international differences, many see in the papacy an institution which might very effectively render such service to mankind. Dr. James Brown Scott, president of the American Society of International Law, said in his presidential address before that body, in 1933: "Protestant though I be, I look forward to the State of the Vatican, barely large enough for the Pontifical throne—an imponderable State—rendering services in the future even greater than the Papacy in the past, because it has neither army nor navy nor territory. It only has a conscience and law under the control of a moral and spiritual conception." H. G. Wells, in his *Outline of History*, says: "Sooner or later the world must come to one universal peace, unless our race is to be destroyed by the increasing power of its own destructive inventions: and that universal peace must needs take the form of a government, that is to say, a law-sustaining organization, in the best sense of the word religious; a government ruling men through the educated coördination of their minds in a common conception of human history and human destiny. The papacy we must now recognize as the first clearly conscious attempt to provide such a government in the world."

In many countries, including Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia,



France, Germany, England, Ireland, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, the United States, and many of the Latin American Republics, there are important Catholic groups devoting their efforts to the development of world peace. In some of these countries there are four or five organizations promoting this work. The aim of these groups is not only to work for material peace, but to bring about internal order and peace without which there can be no true external peace. The necessity of the support of peace activities by individual Catholics and the value of a close coöperation and interchange of ideas among these organizations to strengthen and encourage the efforts of all are obvious particularly at the present time.

The Catholic Association for International Peace in the United States, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., grew out of a series of meetings during 1926-1927, following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, when representatives of a dozen nations met with Americans for discussion. It came into existence to help American public opinion, and particularly Catholics, in the task of ascertaining more fully the facts of international life and of deciding more accurately what ought to be done that the relations between nations may become just, charitable, and peaceful. Being an association of Americans, it directs itself in a special manner to the international relations of the United States.

The aims of the association are: to study, disseminate, and apply the principles of natural laws and Christian charity to international problems of the day; to consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere; to examine and consider issues which bear upon international good will; to encourage the formation of conferences, lectures, and study circles; to issue reports on questions of international importance; to further, in coöperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the object and purposes of world peace and happi-



ness. The ultimate purpose is to promote, in conformity with the mind of the Church, "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

The association, through its various committees, prepares studies on world questions. Twenty-five reports and eight miscellaneous pamphlets have already been issued. Many of these have supplementary National Catholic Welfare Conference study outlines for use in colleges and lay groups. Besides this activity and the holding of annual, regional, and student conferences, it promotes international study clubs in Catholic colleges, seminaries, and lay organizations; it prepares and distributes special data, bibliographies, news releases, syllabi, study outlines, etc., on international problems; it translates and distributes foreign works on world subjects; it furthers annual peace programs in Catholic colleges, seminaries, and Newman Clubs; it serves as a guide to and extends the program of the Student Peace Federations, now organized into six regional groups; it coöperates with Catholic peace groups abroad and with some in this country; it invites all Catholics interested to participate in its program; and it aspires in various other ways to be of service to individuals and groups in their work of furthering "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

#### JEWISH EFFORTS FOR INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL

LOUIS MINSKY

*National Conference of Jews and Christians News Service*

It is a curious fact that the Jews are wholly without special groups for the promotion of internationalism. This may seem surprising in view of the fact that the Jews are innately internationalists, in the highest sense of that term. The ideal of peace occupies a major place in the Jewish religion and this ideal has been reinforced by the experiences of Jews throughout the ages. The vicissitudes of Jewry have bound it together into a world religious

fellowship, which more nearly approximates the brotherhood idea than the practices of any other religious group. Hence the wide concern of western Jewries over the situation of the Jews in Germany and other European countries and the fact that the harsh treatment of a Jew, let us say, in Berlin is deeply felt by a Jew in London, Johannesburg, or New York.

This ideal of the brotherhood of man has taught Jews the infinite worth of human personality. It has convinced the Jew of the madness of international strife, of the folly of nationalism and national isolation and has imbued him with the conception of the world as an interrelated fellowship of human beings. It has not, however, lessened the Jew's love for his own country but has rather spurred in him the desire to work for peace, justice, and prosperity within his own nation in order that this may hasten similar conditions among all nations.

There is also, however, an external factor which has intensified the intrinsic internationalism of the Jews. The various waves of anti-Jewish persecution throughout history have taught them the bitter lesson that anti-Semitic movements are nearly always a concomitant of nationalistic hysterias. In other words, their safety as a group is inextricably bound up with the progress of internationalism and peace. For, among other things, the Jew has become the scapegoat of warrior nations. The Great War was followed by a wave of anti-Jewish persecution which was especially intense in Germany and other countries of the Central Powers which held the Jews responsible for the loss of the war. In some of the victorious nations anti-Semitic movements were fomented from other pretexts. In this case the Jews were held responsible for the aftermaths of the war, especially for the rise of the Communist movement which followed in its wake.

Of late a new and more urgent reason—apart from the critical international situation itself—has arisen to make more necessary than ever the efforts of Jews in the direction of securing basic solu-

tions to international problems. This reason is the growing conviction that the solution of the Jewish question cannot be separated from the solution of the economic question. In Poland, for example, the alleviation of the miserable plight of three and a half million Jews is inseparably tied to the betterment of the lot of the landless and starving peasants and the improvement of Poland's economic situation in general. So far as Germany is concerned, it is conceded by informed Jews that the only hope for a change in the Jewish situation lies either in the overthrow of the Nazi regime, on the one hand, or in a marked improvement in the internal economic situation, on the other. In a word, redress of the economic grievances of nations and the establishment of something more in the nature of brotherhood among the nations, leading to an interplay of economic forces for the good of each, has an important bearing upon a far-reaching solution to the Jewish question.

Upon this background we find Jews trying to change international attitudes in two ways. One way is through identification with general movements of a nonsectarian nature striving for peace and international good will. In such movements Jews play an active part. But the chief vehicles for the promotion of international attitudes are the Jewish religious and related bodies. International good will is a subject that is given major attention by the social justice and peace bodies of the rabbinical associations, chief of which are the Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing the reform rabbinate, and the Rabbinical Assembly of America, representing the conservative rabbinate.

Of these two bodies, the Central Conference is more concerned directly with the promotion of peace and international good will. It supports a special Committee on International Peace, whose exclusive task is to propagandize and agitate for peace, principally by educational methods. As an example of such methods, the Committee has arranged for forty-two of the leading reform rabbis of

the country to visit reform congregations throughout the United States this year and interpret the Jewish historical attitude and experiences affecting war and peace in the interest of arousing the Jewish laity to an awareness of these issues.

The Committee on International Peace also expresses publicly its conviction on current and crucial issues facing the nation in the hope of affecting public opinion and legislation in the direction of peace. It also educates within its own group in an effort to move the Central Conference of American Rabbis and those whom it influences to renounce war. This is done principally through its annual report, which is submitted to the convention of the Central Conference. This report embodies suggestions for special programs the Committee might undertake, a review of the current international scene, and, last, resolutions committing the Central Conference to certain specific proposals looking toward the outlawing of war and the furthering of peace.

For example, the 1936 report recommends the following activities: the establishment of an annual institute of Jewish organizations and individuals interested in peace for the purpose of studying, formulating, expressing, and applying Jewish attitudes toward war and peace; the influencing of the peace attitudes of children in reform religious schools by a careful examination in terms of peace education of all present and contemplated religious school material as well as coöperation with other reform Jewish bodies in the preparation of curricula, programs, books, tracts, debates, plays, etc., designed to inculcate peace attitudes; assisting individual congregations with the preparation of year-round peace programs and stimulating peace action among the laymen generally.

In regard to the contemporary scene, the report presented the following resolutions, which were adopted: commended the administration for the "good-neighbor" policy in the Americas; expressed approval of the reciprocal trade agreements and urged their broader extension; advocated the extension of neutrality legis-

lation to include the prohibition of the sale of raw materials to belligerents; advocated the nationalization of the munitions industry and the adoption of any additional measures necessary to take the profits out of war; expressed its opposition to all encroachments on the liberties of American citizens on the ground that curtailment of civil liberties helps usher in the military spirit; opposed compulsory military training in educational institutions; denounced the present vast armaments appropriations of our government and other governments as unnecessary and evil and demanded that our national defense policy be based on defense of our soil, not of our interests abroad; advocated the extension of the "good-neighbor" policy to Japan through mutual reductions in armaments and revision of the "open-door" policy to the Far East; also requested our government to assume the leadership in summoning a conference for world disarmament.

This in essence is also the peace program adopted by the Rabbinical Assembly of America. The difference is that the formulation of peace attitudes in this body is the task of its Social Justice Committee as part of a general pronouncement on social justice.

In other words, the task of creating proper attitudes looking toward peace is preëminently that of the Jewish rabbinate operating through its representative bodies. This work, however, is also carried on by the federations of synagogues which formulate teaching attitudes in religious schools. In the case of the reform groups, a Commission on Education, sponsored jointly by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, gives special attention to such problems as peace and social justice. On the specific subject of peace the Commission has published several books, such as *The Jewish Peace Book* by Dr. Abraham Cronbach and also selected from it a collection of peace stories for Jewish children. A mimeographed folder on peace programs is also supplied. In general, however, the educational policy is to make the development of attitudes a part of the entire

educational process and in the preparation of textbooks for children, young people, and adults the idea of developing international attitudes is borne in mind. A similar method is observed by the United Synagogue of America, the federation of conservative synagogues.

Outside of the synagogue proper we find an influential group extremely active in the work of peace and international relations. These are the Jewish women's organizations, chiefly the National Council of Jewish Women and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

The work of the National Council in this respect may be divided into three parts: first, study groups on peace are conducted in most of the sections; second, one general meeting a year, usually in November, has for its entire program the subject of peace. An outstanding peace speaker is asked to address the section; on occasion a peace play is presented and at other times peace symposia and panels are included; third, a brief report of the salient current facts about international relations is presented at each general meeting held once a month.

The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods is likewise concerned with educational processes. It issues a pamphlet intermittently from October to May called "Peace News Flashes" which details current developments in the struggle for peace. It also sponsors other peace publications, the latest being a series of five entitled "The Jew Looks at War and Peace" by Roland Gittelsohn. This series is sent out to sisterhoods for use as program or study material. Books on peace are also published periodically, the newest one being *The Quest for Peace* by Dr. Abraham Cronbach. All this activity is undertaken by the National Committee on Peace. At the executive board meeting of the Federation last year, it was decided to increase the scope of the work of the peace committee to include education in problems of social justice on the ground that peace work goes far deeper than mere cessation of war.



## THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES

ROSWELL P. BARNES

### *Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*

By all the implications of its gospel and theory Christianity is a universal religion. Distinctions of nationality, race, and language are irrelevant to the Christian interpretation of man's destiny. But these distinctions constitute barriers in the modern world, dividing the human family into groups which frequently become involved in tragic conflict. The church itself has often forgotten its universality and become nationalistic, and even within nations it has been divided into sects. Its provincialism, contradicting its own theory, has often accentuated the difficulties of intercourse. It must overcome its own divisiveness if it is to make its most effective contribution to the building of a harmonious world community.

The churches are aware of this responsibility and are making considerable progress in meeting it. The ecumenical movement for world-wide coördination of Christian enterprises has been taken seriously during recent years. The Universal Christian Council is promoting this movement. In July 1937, it is holding a great world conference at Oxford, England, for a united discussion of the problems of the modern world, including war. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches has been binding the national church bodies together in the service of peace. In various countries the churches are coöperating for work which they share in common, in our country through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which has a Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

The fact remains that, in spite of institutional divisions, the Christian Church believes in the essential unity of the human race. It recognizes, therefore, its responsibility to develop the psychological basis upon which the groups into which the race is divided may live together in harmony. If groups of the human family are



to live together in peace there must be mutual respect among nations, races, and cultures rather than suspicion, fear, condescension, or contempt. War-provoking jingoistic nationalism must be supplanted by a patriotism of peace.

The behavior of the nations tomorrow is being in part determined in the minds of the children of today. Realizing this fact, the churches are devoting a great deal of attention to developing friendliness among children across national and racial lines. They are trying to achieve this result by the teaching of general principles in the printed curriculum materials and by the project method.

Numerous studies of the content of church school lessons have been made during recent years. One by Dr. Forrest L. Knapp at Yale reveals that the early Old Testament stories which tend to give divine sanction to the militaristic episodes of early Hebrew history are either not being used at all or are being used in such a way as to show their proper relation to the teachings of the later prophets and the spirit of the New Testament. War as such is not glorified; rather it is presented as an evil. International justice and good will are shown as the ideals for which Christians strive.

The world enterprise of the church is so presented to children and youth as to discourage attitudes of superiority or condescension toward other nations and races. The missionary education literature interprets the cultural achievements of other peoples in such a way as to develop an appreciation of their contribution to the world's welfare. Our relation to them becomes then one of sharing the best we have with them. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches distributes World Friendship Lessons for use with small children, each lesson being devoted to the contribution of one race or nation. The Peace Section of the American Friends' Service Committee, the National Council for Prevention of War, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom all supply such material, in addition to that which is distributed by the educational agencies of the various denomina-

tions. The Missionary Education Movement has built up a wide circulation of its books and study courses for all ages.

But the greatest progress has been made in the field of the project method. Outstanding has been the work of the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, promoting reciprocity in friendly activities among children of different lands; 12,739 dolls were dressed in America, given farewell parties, and sent to Japan as messengers of friendship, carrying letters. They were greeted with ceremonial receptions in Tokyo and other cities, exhibited in department stores and schools, and then distributed to the children. Some of them were placed in the Doll Palace in the Imperial Education Museum, Tokyo, which was presented by H. I. M., the Empress of Japan as a permanent home for the American dolls; 2,610,000 Japanese school girls subscribed to a fund to send an embassy of forty-eight beautifully dressed and equipped dolls in return. Upon their arrival in America they toured the country in state, were given a reception at City Hall in New York, and Miss Japan finally went into permanent residence in the National Museum in Washington. Similar projects have sent school bags to Mexico, treasure chests to the Philippines, and scrapbooks to China. Thousands of children are sending postcards to children abroad.

Right in our own communities there are representatives of other nationalities with whom our children can be friends. Church schools exchange parties with these groups. The Daily Vacation Church Schools have provided the best opportunity for the promotion of such projects. A recent book by Imogene McPherson, "Educating Children for Peace," describes a number of projects that have been worked out in such schools. Puppet shows, plays, pageants, festivals of folk song and dance, international parties, exhibits showing international interdependence, essay contests, peace parades, and many other projects are being widely used.

Closely related to the development of international attitudes is the development of interracial attitudes. The church, in its program

of education, realizes the folly of talking about friendship with people of other lands if it disregards prejudice against Chinese, or Italians, or Jews in our own communities.

The peace and war issue becomes more clearly defined for youth in high school and college. The churches have been in the front ranks of those who have been opposing military training under the War Department in high schools and compulsory enrollment in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in colleges. Fifteen Protestant organizations or leaders appeared at, or prepared statements for, the Senate Committee hearings on the Nye-Kvale bill in Washington last June, supporting this move to abolish the compulsory feature of military training from our civil colleges.

The Christian Youth Council of North America, recently set up under the auspices of the International Council of Religious Education, is promoting an aggressive program of Youth Action in Building a Warless World. This is reaching out into the youth groups in churches and Christian associations across the country.

The church as a whole has thrown its influence on the side of such national policies as tend to alleviate fear or suspicion and to build friendship and confidence with other nations. The pulpit, the religious press, and the national denominational agencies, have sought to rally the rank and file of the membership for peace and justice. Some denominations have special commissions supplying educational material on international affairs. They are not as adequately staffed or financed as they should be; but their influence reaches down into the local church through various channels. Many local congregations have peace committees.

The churches have supported the government in every step for strengthening the will and the means to international coöperation. They have urged our country to join the World Court. They have stood resolutely for arbitration and the limitation and reduction of armaments by international agreement. They have opposed the Japanese Exclusion Act and other national behavior which is irri-

tating to our neighbors, such as naval maneuvers in Far Eastern waters. (Of course when we speak of "the churches" we have in mind the dominant influences and the statements of national assemblies, and must remember that there are exceptions that do not subscribe to these generally accepted views.)

It is difficult to make any accurate estimate of the effectiveness of the churches' program for developing enlightened international attitudes. If it is compared with what it should be, its failures are immediately apparent. But if church people are compared with the citizenship as a whole, there are indications that real progress has been made. When there is a community meeting for the discussion of world problems the churches usually provide the bulk of the attendance. If there is a movement to counteract irresponsible jingoism, it is usually clear where the church leadership stands. At the hearings on the Nye-Kvale bill mentioned above there was not a single representative of a religious organization appearing against the bill, but there were fifteen witnesses for it. In youth groups working for peace the leadership is predominantly from the churches. The Emergency Peace Campaign directors report that in many communities they could find no sponsorship for their campaign except through the initiative of the churches.

Those who have been setting the standards of educational principle and procedure for the churches have had good academic training and are professionally competent. Lobingier's *Projects in World-Friendship* and *Educating for Peace*, Albert John Murphy's *Education for World-Mindedness*, and Bruno Lasker's *Race Attitudes in Children* are widely used among religious educators, and many are familiar with the works of Bogardus and F. H. Allport. The educational leadership of the churches has outgrown sentimentalism and easy optimism.

The conscience of the churches has repudiated war and turned to peace. Our task now is to lead the churches to behavior which will be consistent with their conscience.

## THE ROLE OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN FOSTERING ATTITUDES OF NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

SPENCER MILLER, JR.

*Workers Education Bureau of America*

*The problem of the day's work is the one outstanding problem in all lands.*

—JAMES T. SHOTWELL

What is the contribution of labor organizations in fostering attitudes of nationalism and internationalism? No adequate answer to this fundamental question can be made without understanding something of the nature of the labor movement, the basic principles upon which it rests, and the various manifestations of its policy and program in different countries under differing stages of industrial development. While the limitations of this article prevent the consideration of any other labor organizations save those in the United States, it is appropriate to begin by pointing out two basic principles which are common to this movement the world over.

In the first place, the labor movement is a folk movement, which comes from the "grass roots"; it can come in no other way. It is a movement born of necessity, which arises out of the need of workers for some power or agency to safeguard the conditions under which they work; it grows in response to the demand of workers for a status in the enterprise of industry itself. The labor movement is a child of the industrial revolution. Without the introduction of the machine into western civilization a century and a half ago there would be no organized movement of labor; without the extension of technology the world over the movement today would not be world-wide. But it is not only the universality of work that unites men in the labor movement throughout the world; it is also the quest of the spirit of man to fulfill his destiny in human brotherhood.

In the second place, the labor movement is a contemporary movement concerned not only with the ideals of social justice in



the abstract but in the day-to-day problems of workers in mine, mill, and workshop. It is idealistic in conception but practical in method. It must continually readjust both its tactics and its methods to correspond to the needs of the day. Unless the movement of labor is contemporary both to the condition and the needs of workers, unless it is continually reexamining both its policy and its strategy to meet the needs of the hour, it would fail of its purpose and lose the adherence of its followers. Thus it has a long-time goal and a short-time purpose to pursue simultaneously and consistently.

In the United States the American labor movement as we know it has its roots planted deep in the American soil and yet is responsive to the broad appeals of international coöperation. The American movement, following the pattern of the British Trades Union movement, adapted itself to its own land. It not only adjusted itself to our own form of government but developed an ideology which was the product of our own experience. It is not a coincidence, for example, that when the structure of the American Federation of Labor was devised it should have followed so faithfully the pattern of our Federal system of government. The various State branches of the Federation of Labor mirror the State governments in our country, as do the central labor bodies mirror the municipal governments in our cities. The Annual Convention of the Federation is a Congress of American Labor which considers not only labor problems but also matters of broad public policy.

But it is not in structure alone that the American labor movement has adapted itself to the American scene. It is more particularly in its policy and program. More than a hundred years ago in this country, when the forerunners of the Federation of Labor witnessed the extension of political democracy, they also recognized the fundamental fact that government by the people would have to rest on the education of all the people. Accordingly the leaders of labor became the militant advocates of a great system of free public education in this land. During this year 1936, when we are



celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of Horace Mann's contribution to the free public-school system in America, it is fitting that we should recognize the contribution of many of those unrecorded leaders of labor who devoted themselves with such vigor to championing legislation in the various States of the eastern seaboard for the establishment of our public schools. For more than a hundred years now American labor has been one of the most faithful of all the functional groups in our society in support of the opportunities for free public education from the primary and secondary levels up through continuation schools, vocational schools, to institutions of higher learning and indeed to education at the adult level. Thus directly has labor contributed to fashioning one of the most potent instruments in developing attitudes among our people on both domestic and foreign problems. Similarly, in its struggle for the abolition of child labor, labor has proved its faith in the inalienable right of all to their birthright of equality of educational opportunity.

Furthermore, in the maintenance of the integrity of American institutions against divisive forces of all kinds both within and without, American labor has a force impregnable. Indeed, it is not too much to say that whether in war or in peace the hosts of labor have been militant in their support of American institutions and American methods. So deeply had the great leader of American labor caught the spirit of his adopted land that he could utter as his last words upon his death bed: "God bless our American institutions; may they grow better day by day!"

There is still another aspect of the activity of the unions which is sometimes lost sight of but is nevertheless of very real service in the cause of true Americanization. Year after year the trade unions have taken into membership the workers from different countries, with differing racial and cultural backgrounds, and through the process of union discipline have given them at once a knowledge and an understanding of American institutions and ways. Indeed,

it is not too much to say that the union meetings have provided one of the most important forums for the sound naturalization of foreign-born workers.

But while the American labor movement has been indigenous to our American scene, it would be erroneous to suppose that there was not a keen awareness on the part of American labor of the broader world outlook. And this in part is a direct result of the task which the unions have performed in trying to discipline their members into an understanding of American habits and institutions. It is an oft repeated truism that America is a world in microcosm, that here we have representatives of all the races of the world. It has been particularly the adventurous artisans of these various races who have come to our shores bringing with them their backgrounds of tradition and outlook. American labor has been sympathetic to the problems of other peoples because it has had within its own membership their representatives who have been able to interpret the problems and needs of their own. It is not a coincidence that the appeals for the oppressed in Ireland or India or Russia or Germany or Spain or Italy have been made successively and often successfully to the hosts of American labor. For here was a movement at once separated from Europe, yet bound by countless invisible ties.

Again, the American labor movement is the only movement in the world that itself is made up of international unions—unions with a membership both in the United States and in Canada, and to a limited extent in Mexico. In the periodicals and publications of these unions the workers in other countries, particularly in our neighbors to the north and south, are taken for granted and not treated as strangers or foreigners.

In the third place, the American labor movement has for more than forty years carried on the practice at its annual conventions of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress and has in that way tended to keep a channel open for

the interchange both of experiences and of ideas. In more recent years the exchange of delegates with the Canadian Trades Congress, the Mexican Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Trade Unions, and, prior to the Nazi revolution, with the German Federation of Trade Unions has been another way in which there has been developed this link between the movements of the world.

In the fourth place, many of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are themselves affiliated with other international trade secretariats such as the International Wood Workers' Union and the International Miners' Federation. While the American Federation of Labor does not now belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, which it helped to establish, there is a close working agreement between the two organizations and the present hope is that they may again be united in the international movement.

Finally, in our more recent membership as a nation in the International Labor Organization there is the basis of a closer bond of fellowship and unity with the representatives of labor in all of the countries of the world. While it is as yet too early to assert that the effects of this association can be seen, it is not too early to predict that this will be one of the beneficial outcomes of our membership in this important organization.

If the educational aims of an institution are to be determined by the extent to which its members are made aware of the nature of the world in which they live and work, then indeed one may assert that the labor movement is itself a vast educational institution devoted to humanistic aims, and is attempting to develop in its members both by precept and example an intelligent attitude toward problems both national and international.

## COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATION ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL TRADE

E. L. BACHER

*Foreign Commerce Department,  
Chamber of Commerce of the United States*

and

C. D. SNOW

*American Section, International Chamber of Commerce*

If you will examine carefully the activities and policies of American commercial organizations you will not find there an extreme position favoring complete nationalism or an extreme position favoring undiluted internationalism. These "ultimate" attitudes projected at times for theoretical discussion, or seized upon as rallying slogans by biased propagandists, find no counterpart in the day-to-day operations of chambers of commerce, trade associations, and similar groups.

In the broader field of international understanding the American business groups are sincerely interested in preserving attitudes that will make for good feeling between the nations, for fashioning really effective mechanisms for settling disputes without recourse to war, and for preserving peace. The economic objective, found most frequently in the actions and statements of commercial organizations, is amicable coördination and reconciliation of our domestic economy with the great forces of world trade and world industrial development.

Since its establishment in 1912, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which is a federation of chambers of commerce and manufacturing and trade associations throughout the United States and some American chambers of commerce abroad, has had to interest itself not only in the promotion of export business but also in adequate protection for domestic industries. This is a reflection of the fact that the local chambers of commerce and trade

associations have had to look at both sides of the coin. A broadside picture of American industry and commerce will show many producing enterprises in the manufacturing field, in the agricultural field, and in mining and forestry, dependent in varying degrees upon foreign markets for the distribution of a sizable part of annual output. Likewise we have thousands upon thousands of retail and wholesale distributors who handle one or more imported food products, particularly items of tropical origin or distinctive food specialties. Many of our important industries also are dependent upon foreign raw materials in their manufacturing processes.

Frequently within an individual industry we find conflict of opinion between groups; on the one hand, those wishing our country to pursue a liberal foreign policy in order to encourage liberal attitudes abroad toward their overseas business, and, on the other, groups apprehensive lest our tariff policy admit foreign products in such quantity or under such conditions as to damage the domestic market for American produced goods.

To meet these varying demands from American business houses and the American consumer, we witness, within certain fairly distinguishable upper and lower limits, modifications of commercial policy, changes in tariff rates, and shifts in organization opinion, but none of them ever reaching the unrealistic extremes that are suggested by the words "nationalism" and "internationalism." For example there is no chamber of commerce, to our knowledge, which has urged for the United States either (1) a policy of one-hundred-per-cent free trade, or (2) a policy of complete Chinese Wall exclusion of foreign products.

In discussing the attitude of American business organizations in the United States we shall speak particularly about the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, both because that is the assignment given us, and because in a short paper there is not space to go into the declarations of many individual organizations.

## NATIONAL CHAMBER ACTION IN THE FIELD OF TARIFF PROTECTION

In the course of nearly a quarter century of existence, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has made many recommendations, determined by referendum or by resolution of its member organizations, looking to adequate protection for domestic industries. The position taken has always been in terms of general policy, without "breaking down" the recommendations so as to indicate, for example, whether or not a particular product needed protection or as to the level at which the duty applying to any commodity should be established—the latter functions being usually well taken care of by the respective trade associations and the Government Tariff Commission. In general the Chamber has supported the proposal that our tariff laws should assure reasonable protection for American industries subject to destructive competition from abroad and of benefit to any considerable section of the country.

In the years since the World War, there have been so many repeated instances of major changes in economic factors, affecting the incidence of tariff rates, that the Chamber's membership has supported the procedure established by the "flexible" tariff for the adjustment of tariff rates by administrative action within limits prescribed by Congress for the purpose of maintaining a consistent tariff policy. The function of the Tariff Commission in administering these flexible provisions of our law has been especially significant in meeting cases of destructive foreign competition.

Attention has also been directed to the growing importance of America's transshipment trade, and support has been given the proposal that there should be a law authorizing the establishment of foreign-trade zones in which products might be landed, manipulated, and reexported without going through the red tape of customs procedure.

## MEASURES FOR THE PROMOTION OF FOREIGN TRADE

Since the establishment of the Chamber, its members on several occasions have subscribed to the importance of international trade



to the lasting economic welfare of the United States. In order to foster such world trade they have urged that there be proper encouragement and support for extension of American banking and insurance overseas and that there be provision of adequate transportation, communication, travel, service, and other facilities associated with our business contacts with the rest of the world. Support has been given to the recent policy of negotiating reciprocal trade agreements with foreign countries, so far as consistent with reasonable protection for American industries and having regard for existing treaties.

The Chamber has asked support for certain international conventions looking to the removal of many of the prohibitions, restrictions, excessive formalities, export and import controls, government purchasing and selling monopolies, and foreign-exchange controls, which have constituted such serious impediments to the normal development of the worlds' international trade. It has also directed appreciative attention to the work of our own Government and the work of the International Chamber of Commerce in endeavoring thus to remove some of the arbitrary stumbling blocks in the pathway of normal international trade exchange.

Throughout the world there are more than 35 American chambers of commerce abroad. Many of these American organizations in foreign countries are in the membership of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, whose Foreign Commerce Department serves as an important connecting link between them and the more than 110 chambers of commerce in the United States having foreign-trade bureaus and foreign-trade committees. Attention has repeatedly been called to the importance of these American chambers abroad in the advancement of American foreign commerce, in the promotion of approved standards of business, and in the maintenance and increase of international good will; and all American firms and companies with representatives in foreign countries have been urged to encourage their representatives to join the American chambers of commerce in those countries and to participate actively in the work of the chambers and their committees.

There are quite a few trade associations making efforts to expand foreign sales for their products, and there are more than thirty foreign-trade clubs. There are likewise several foreign-trade associations that are national in scope, as well as a number of regional groups interested in the promotion of overseas business.

Most of these private groups, as well as the Government Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, maintain close contact with each other. In 1935 and 1936 this coöperation took tangible form in the observance of a "National Foreign Trade Week" in the week containing May 22, that day having been officially designated by the United States Congress as "National Maritime Day." In 1935 more than three hundred organizations, including not only commercial organizations, but likewise many educational groups, participated in this observance sponsored by the National Chamber; in 1936 the number was in excess of six hundred. At present plans are under way for the observance of a similar week in 1937 during the week May 16 to May 22.

In the United States there are also some forty-five foreign chambers of commerce, some of which are members of the National Chamber and with all of which it maintains contact.

#### RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Of special significance is the close coöperation between the American business organizations and the International Chamber of Commerce. The International Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1919 for the purpose of promoting trading relations between the nations. The American business men took a leading part in the establishment of this international body and have maintained membership in the organization and supported it consistently. The American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce has its office in the headquarters building of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Through the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, American

business men and organizations have a channel through which to reflect our business viewpoints into the international scene, particularly with reference to the participation of American industry, agriculture, banking, insurance, shipping, communications, and travel in international trade.

A brief statement of some of the subjects dealt with by the International Chamber will indicate fields in which organized business in the United States interests itself in the world picture. Such activities include matters relating to production, distribution inside countries, trade between countries, currencies, foreign exchange, international lending, banking, taxation, stock exchanges, commodity exchanges, various fields of transportation, various fields of communication, patents, trade-marks, copyrights, commercial law, laws applying to branch companies in foreign countries, trade terms, commercial arbitration, in fact any important phase of international trade relationship whose betterment may contribute to greater and more profitable world business.

Through the structure of the International Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers Association, and other member organizations in the United States have association with similar groups in the following foreign countries having national committees representing the International Chamber: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Danzig, Holland, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, Indo-China, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia; also with the following countries, which, though not having national committees, do have business groups participating in the International Chamber; Albania, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Ecuador, Haiti, Irish Free State, Lithuania, Palestine, Siam, South Africa, and the Sudan.

## COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The extent to which commercial organizations have been established throughout the world, and thus afford channels for promoting international trade relationships and good will, is indicated in a recent publication of the Foreign Commerce Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States listing more than eight thousand chambers of commerce scattered over every continent. Of these groups, 5,370 are in the United States and 3,150 in foreign countries. While many of these organizations, particularly those in the United States, are small and have only an occasional interest in international trade and international relationships, nevertheless this world-wide network of organizations of business men constitutes one of the most effective and important channels through which there may be brought home to world populations, the importance of sane and friendly thinking in the solution of any divergencies of opinion that may arise. A copy of this directory has been placed in the hands of the secretary of each of the eight thousand organizations listed, opening the way for closer world friendship and coöperation.

It may safely be said that in these chambers of commerce in foreign countries as in those in the United States the extremes of complete nationalism or complete internationalism do not exist in actual practice, even in nations that may agitate strongly for measures leaning heavily in one or the other of these directions. Actually the path of progress and the path of peace lead along the highway of coördination and coöperation, adapting policies to the major good of the countries concerned and of the world itself as a single business unit.

## PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

*Whether one agrees or disagrees with the sentiments expressed and programs presented in these articles, certainly such organizations are exerting a very real influence and, as such, are included in this survey.*

### THE LEGION, NATIONALISM, AND INTERNATIONALISM

ALEXANDER GARDINER

*The American Legion Monthly*

The American Legion, membership in which is limited to those who saw service in uniform during the World War, is naturally interested in the kind of nation America is to be in the years to come. Having been rallied to the colors in the belief that they were engaging in a crusade to make the world safe for democracy, ex-service men saw soon after the cessation of hostilities that the victory which had been made possible by terrific sacrifices was to be set at naught by the ambitions and intrigues of virtually all of those powers President Wilson called "our Associates." The unholy scramble for possession of Germany's colonies made the former soldiers cynical of the politicians in whose hands remained the decision for peace or war.

As a preamble to its constitution the American Legion in 1919 set forth its aims and aspirations as follows:

For God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one-hundred-per-cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

Being realistic about the place of America in the world, the

Legion and its Auxiliary, which numbers some 400,000 women, have consistently advocated a system of national defense which will protect our shores from attack from any source. Only too well aware that in wartime the munition makers garner great profits, the Legion has carried on a fight for fifteen years for a scheme of universal service that will make every element of the population and of industry bear a fair share of the burden of war and make it impossible for any one to eke a profit out of the nation's calamities. These "attitudes of nationalism" are part of the warp and woof of the Legion's pattern of Americanism, and from them stem the many activities which its million members in some 11,300 Posts carry on throughout each year. It might be said that every action by every Post of the Legion throughout a given year is an "attitude of nationalism," for the Legion believes wholeheartedly in the destiny of America and is daily preaching and practising the doctrine of the American spirit of democracy, of fair play, and of sportsmanship. We believe in reverence for the flag of the United States of America, for to us it is a symbol of all that this nation has come to mean through the generations, and in that symbol we trace the development of democratic institutions from the time of Runnymede. We are mindful of the sacrifices that made this nation possible, and we hope that our children will receive it from us greater than we have known it and that they in turn will make it still better and finer.

So we are glad to sponsor Boy Scout troops, to encourage good scholarship and good sportsmanship by awarding each year some seven thousand or more school medals, to conduct citizenship classes for our foreign born, to coöperate with the National Education Association in the program of American Education Week; in short, to say and do those things that will spread the belief throughout this nation that nowhere under the sun is there in such bountiful measure the opportunity for the "good life" that there is in America, and that so long as we are blessed with the Constitution we now



have shall we continue to be a great nation. In its devotion to the Constitution the Legion naturally looks upon that document not as static, but as a growing thing. In this view the right of the people as a whole to settle questions of national policy is preëminent, and, so long as changes in our organic law are made peacefully and in accord with the rules of the game as set forth in the Constitution, the Legion believes the citizen is bound by them.

I might mention other activities of the Legion in the "national" field, the Boys' State, for instance, whereby each year promising youths of high-school age are given the opportunity of studying their State's government by serving for several days as legislators and other officials in a government modeled on that of the actual Commonwealth in which they live; or the junior baseball program, which annually gives half a million boys lessons in fair play and sportsmanship.

In the matter of "fostering attitudes of internationalism" the American Legion as a member of Fidac (*Fédération Interalliée des Anciens Combattants*), an organization of some eight million ex-service men in eleven countries, is actively interested in peace work among all nations. The Legion sends a delegation to the annual Congress of Fidac, held successively with one of the member countries. With conditions as they are in Europe at the moment one would be foolish to say unequivocally that resolutions of ex-service men can prevent war, but it is equally true that these millions of men and women working in the cause of peace are a definite factor in the maintenance of peace. A concrete example of Fidac's work for peace came a few years ago when ex-service men of Poland and Czechoslovakia, by the force of their opinion, prevailed upon the newspapers of their respective countries to cease a propaganda of hatred which was flowing across the frontiers of the two countries. In the field of European affairs mention should be made of the resolutions passed unanimously by Fidac's London Congress in 1934 and affirmed by succeeding Congresses:

The . . . Fidac, conscious of the existing fear of war, pledges all its efforts for the maintenance of peace among nations, and further:

1. States that it is the duty of ex-service men grouped in Fidac to fulfill the mission befalling them through the sacrifice of their glorious dead and do their utmost for public opinion in each country to sustain all measures capable of maintaining peace.

2. Appeals to ex-service men of former enemy countries who are inspired by similar feelings to take part in efforts directed against any conflicts between peoples.

3. Affirms to the younger generation of the whole world that the establishment of permanent peace is possible by means of the collaboration of peoples and appeals to its sense of generosity to help in the realization of this peace in an upright and equitable manner.

Father Robert J. White, American Vice-President of Fidac, reporting to the Legion recently on the work of the international organization, declared, "Our efforts will be worth while if we avert war for a single hour."

As a member of Fidac the Legion conducts annually a competition among higher institutions of learning in America for three medals—one given to a university, one to a college, and a third to either one. These awards are made on the basis of the institution's achievement in promoting international good will and understanding.

The "good-neighbor" policy toward other nations enunciated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt finds a hearty response in the American Legion, which realizes the futility of warfare as a national policy and daily strives for that "just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" that was the inspiration of Abraham Lincoln in the dark days of our Civil War.

#### TAPESTRY WEAVERS

MRS. WILLIAM A. BECKER

*National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution*

The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, was organized with the purpose of keeping clear the American

vision, of preserving her birthright and her ancient landmarks, and of educating her citizens for their individual responsibilities.

Forty-five years ago, eighteen far-visioned women formed a new society and received a charter as copartners with their Government; today, nearly 150,000 members in 2,500 chapters are the evidence of their faith.

Ours is the responsibility to carry on to greater fruition the work committed to our hands; our purpose to preserve the ancient landmarks, to foster the cause of freedom and to educate citizens who will make real the American dream—freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for all. The Constitution of the United States of America is our pattern, and our design in all respects harmonizes with its precepts. We are builders, not destroyers; our work is inspiring and diversified.

Behold a beautiful tapestry and think of the many whose labor contributes to its perfection. Some grow the flax, some spin the thread, some perfect the colors and make the dyes, while others blend their beauty and follow the intricacies of design, and produce the thing of beauty. Generations contribute their talents—slow painstaking work with patience and skill. So with the work we have set for our Society. All may be workers; some have the vision, some the knowledge, some the many skills necessary to bring to perfection America's dream.

The highways and byways of the past are searched out and its history and its records are preserved as guideposts. Bible records are copied, old wills preserved, funds secured for cataloguing, and the groundwork laid for the growth of our Society. Coöperation is asked in making D.A.R. records available to others who seek membership. Books and valuable manuscripts are sought and procured, and the D.A.R. Genealogical Library ranks second to none in the United States.

Stories of old trails, including Indian trails, military trails, pony express, mail-coach and old settlers trails catch our fancy as we picture them with their trains of covered wagons bearing precious

cargoes of potential citizens and winners of a wilderness. We mark them, commemorate their history, and tell their stories to our children.

Contributions of historical and legendary lore are welcomed by the Filing and Lending Bureau; very special is the need for plays and pageants suitable for young people, and based upon American traditions. Radio, screen, and motion picture are employed channels of contact. The D.A.R. magazine is a medium of information. It is constantly improved in content and in style, and has a wide circulation.

Thrift is almost a stranger to our national life, but remains a virtue to be valued. Natural resources and human life are ours to conserve. In conserving the lessons of the past is the progress of the future assured. "The heritage that's to your fathers lent, earn it anew in order to possess it," are words of the great Goethe. Each generation must earn its heritage; unless earned it is soon lost. Democracy has not failed; her ideals are but lost to sight.

One hundred thousand children are enrolled in the clubs of the D.A.R. Its program of education begins in the cradle. The Children of the American Revolution is her nursery; the Sons and Daughters of the United States of America enfold her children by adoption; the Girl Home Makers train the mothers of the future. Our women are active in Boy and Girl Scout organizations, and in our own good citizenship projects.

Character building and citizenship are developed through good citizenship projects. Two thousand medals presented in one year testify to the work begun on these lines. The Good Citizenship Pilgrimage, bringing to Washington an outstanding senior girl student from each State, has been accepted as a permanent part of our educational program.

D.A.R. scholarships and student loan funds are giving opportunity to over one thousand boys and girls. Our approved schools are reaching hundreds of sturdy Americans long denied advan-

tages in their mountain homes. Well may it be possible that these Americans have been preserved for this hour of their country's need. Early American stock has been outdistanced by elements foreign to the nation's ideals, immigration restricted all too late. Laxity in policy and in enforcement means there are millions of unassimilated aliens in the United States of America today, while a corresponding number of her citizens are unemployed. Rome fell only when foreign hordes ruled in her citadel, and her people had become soft from lives of luxury and ease.

At Ellis and Angel Islands the turmoil has subsided. Through examination at the port of debarkation, the numbers here detained are greatly reduced. Work and occupation for those awaiting their fate are provided by materials contributed by the faithful services of three full time D.A.R. workers.

The D.A.R. Manual for Citizenship is a boon to the foreigner seeking knowledge of a strange land. It is carrying its message of patriotism and sound Americanism into thousands of hearts and homes.

Americanism has been defined as "an educational process of unifying both the native and foreign born in perfect support of American principles." Few cities have Americanization schools; many have workers' schools where class warfare is inculcated, and hatred for this Government is taught. Every public-school system in the United States should have its Americanization school, and citizens should see that its influence reaches all who are handicapped by strangeness of language and customs.

National defense is the peace program of the D.A.R. The D.A.R. wants peace, works for peace, a righteous peace and not peace at any price. It believes that the best way to maintain peace is through an adequate national defense, as laid down by the law of the land. That "God grants liberty to those who love it and who are prepared to defend it" is self-evident.

Disarmament by the United States as a means to world peace is

an empty dream; those who would have us unprepared to preserve our nation are enemies not only of the country which affords them all the blessings of life, but of world peace which depends upon the growth of opportunity and justice.

The education system should be kept free from governmental control, and the American people should not commit suicide by failure to provide teachers who have faith in America.

The present generation is turning to consideration of fundamental economic and social problems. In the words of Dr. Angell, "It is not wise to tie down the safety valve if you would not have the boiler explode." Discussion must remain free, thought must be encouraged, speech unafraid, leadership carefully trained, but anchorage made secure.

As Christianity has progressed but slowly over a period of two thousand years, and that under Divine Guidance, should we be discouraged if in the short space of one hundred and fifty years a government based upon these precepts has failed to attain perfection? When people seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, all these things will be added unto them. The character of a people is their greatest assurance of peace and prosperity. To develop character is our goal. Education, indeed, civilization itself is on trial. With a return to good old-fashioned reverence for God, law observance will take care of itself.

Boys and girls just out of high school, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three, need hope and preparation for the future. The necessities of life, healthful recreation, educational opportunities, spiritual guidance, and a true realization of what it means to be an American citizen are their birthright. Every chapter is urged to make at least one boy or girl its chief concern, to open for him the way to a useful life. They are not difficult to find. The expense need not be great, but the return in happiness and security will be a thousand fold. Inspire with truth and hope and faith!

Industry, integrity, civic responsibility, courage, discipline, and



faith should be instilled in our youth in this period of our nation's crisis. It is possible to lift men's souls, eradicate crime, relieve stress and strain and, above all, prepare the way for better manhood and womanhood.

It is our aim to form junior groups within the chapters. We need to attract the young women just out of school and college. They are full of enthusiasm and vigor, and their energies are needed in humanitarian service. The D.A.R. offers a fertile field of opportunity where talents may be woven into the great American design and make it a thing of beauty.

Not as reactionaries but as progressives, it is ours to carry forward the spirit of America, surrendering to no foe the sacred trust committed to our hands, a trust we are in honor bound to pass on unimpaired to our children. As instruments of service to young and old, rich and poor, native and foreign born, the Daughters of the American Revolution are weaving the elements of national life into harmony with the Constitution of the United States for home, country, and God.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROPAGANDA IN THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM AND  
INTERNATIONALISM

HENRY G. WELLMAN

*New Rochelle Public Schools*

It is probably quite safe to assert that no one in the world actually wants war, not even the dictators if they can become powerful enough so that they can snatch the territory they covet without it. Yet, when consideration is given to the extremes to which nationalism is going in the various countries, the lust for expansion, the individual egotism and greed manifested by these dictators, the base use to which propaganda is being put in building up race prejudice and accentuating religious differences, the subjection of

personal liberty, and, finally, the unparalleled race for rearmament, any individual is blind indeed who fails to read the handwriting on the wall. A conflict so deadly that civilization itself may be expected to perish can be the only result.

No one who lived through the dreadful years of the World War and these ensuing years of depression can fail to realize the trend of the times with anything but a sinking heart. Full well do we realize now that a war to end war, or any other war, regardless of how its purpose may be exalted, can do nothing for a troubled world but breed fresh troubles, deepen old antagonisms, destroy that which is best in our civilization, delay progress for all time by the destruction of the young and strong, and by these evils create yet other wars. Nothing can be depended upon with greater confidence to perpetuate itself than war.

We are, however, both impatient and frightened, impatient that the machinery for peace has not yet found a way to keep the peace; frightened that the situation in the world is so tense, and that whole nations are being inculcated with the virus of hate and intolerance, cruelty, greed, and visions of national supremacy. But we should remember how short a time, and in how relatively few places, except in the minds and hearts of a few inspired individuals who blaze the trail, founders and leaders of committees, councils, conferences, and organizations, the idea of being a citizen of the world has been voiced aloud. To a much less extent has it been accepted as a working political creed. People do not so greatly enlarge their accepted notions of citizenship over night.

This is too urgent a need and too vast a project to be left to the normal processes of education in our public schools. Fortunately it is not necessary, although the schools can and must bear a heavy part of the burden. As summarized in an earlier issue of this JOURNAL, it becomes the duty of the schools, of those who administer them and instruct the children therein, to be fully alive to the task imposed. It is the school in each community to which we may look

for a sort of springboard, a point of departure, if you please, in full coöperation with all the organizations and institutions for the furtherance of international understanding in our own country and in the world. A new type of citizen must be achieved, a fresh point of view, a realization that the welfare of each individual in the world is irrevocably bound up with that of all the others, and that only through the fostering of the international spirit can the truest nationalism be realized.

Fortunately the schools are not alone in affording opportunity for this educational project. Speaking before the Inter-American Conference on Peace at Buenos Aires, Secretary of State Cordell Hull said:

Our churches have direct contact with all groups; they may remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distill their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient; our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is a strength here available greater than that of armies.

The vast number of agencies that have developed specifically to foster the development of an international attitude of mind have tremendous potentiality. Their variation in methods have been presented above, but all such organizations have done much to focus the public mind on the basic problems of nationalism and internationalism. There are many who believe that the work of these propagandist organizations is more or less futile, that they fail to stir the emotions or fire the imagination; that their appeal is purely to the intellect and that they fail to touch the great mass of the people who must, in final analysis, determine basic policies.

While it is true, of course, that many of the publications have only limited circulation and that forum groups include only a small proportion of the population, the agencies themselves are increasingly conscious of these limitations and are successfully reaching

an even larger number of people. Through coöperation with other agencies, through the use of popular media of propaganda and by working together more closely in their own activities, they are answering the critics with concrete programs and specific proposals for action.

In the hope that a brief list of some of the most active of the organizations interested in this field will be of benefit to many, such a list, together with a brief word of description of each, is appended to this article. These organizations are actively working in one way or another in an attempt to bring intelligence to bear upon the problems of nations with a view to securing more peaceful, profitable, and sensible relations among them. They are inadequately staffed in most instances, their staff members are poorly paid, in many instances not paid at all. But we have them and they need our acquaintance and support as we in turn need the information that they are specialized to supply. From them it is possible to obtain literature; reports of research, conferences, and institutes; at times, speakers; and answers to the many questions arising on current developments in international affairs.<sup>1</sup>

A PARTIAL LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT PUBLISH MATERIAL  
FOR STUDY GROUPS

IN THE FIELD OF NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

*American Association of University Women*, 106 East 52d Street, New York City. Pamphlets and other publications for discussion groups.

*The American Friends Service Committee*, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

Especially equipped to furnish material for adult-education groups. It conducts summer institutes at various universities throughout the country.

*American Legion*. See article in this issue.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed analysis of practically all of the organizations in this field and an excellent summary of their activities, the reader is referred to the following publications: Elton Atwater, "Organized Efforts in the United States toward Peace." Digest Press of the American University Graduate School, 1901 F Street, Washington, D. C.; Edith E. Ware, "The Study of International Relations in the United States." Survey for 1934, published for the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, Columbia University Press (survey for 1936 soon to be published).

*American National Committee on Intellectual Coöperation*, 405 West 117th Street, New York City. A coördinating council with a program in the social sciences; also covers activities in literature, art, and the exact sciences, as well as the administrative problems in the field of international intercourse. The chairman of the American Committee is the American Member of the League Committee and is appointed by the Council of the League.

*American Peace Society*, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Oldest peace society in America; publishes the magazine *World Affairs*; exercises conservative influence upon the peace movement; encourages the furtherance of peace through education along the lines of international coöperation and justice.

*Catholic Association for International Peace*, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. Entirely educational; see article in this issue.

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 405 West 117th Street, New York City; also 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Publishes *International Conciliation*, monthly, except July and August. Organizes international relations clubs in the United States, Europe, and the Orient; offers practical aid in securing material; distributes books and documents and sets up International Alcove Libraries of reference material in small colleges; publishes *Fortnightly Summary* of world development; suitable for high-school and college use.

*Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*, 1924 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. Sponsors formation marathon round-table discussion groups; represents eleven organizations of women; tries to clarify issues in international relations and discover and show steps that must be taken to "achieve a world at peace"; distributes study outlines, informative material, bibliographies; contacts press and legislators.

*Committee on Co-operation in Latin America*, 254 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Promotes friendly relations between the Americans of both continents.

*Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America*, 112 East 19th Street, New York City; 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Facilitates the increase of understanding between Americans and Latin Americans and its consequent friendliness.

*Committee on World Friendship Among Children*, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. Makes available lists of books on the children of various nations; active in the distribution of posters and literature; believes that the best hope of peace in the future lies in the education of children.

*Council of Foreign Relations*, 45 East 65th Street, New York City. Membership limited to those who have a real and active interest in international affairs; has published three volumes of research material; publishes quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*.

*Daughters of the American Revolution*. See article in this issue.

*Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America*, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. See article in this issue.

*Foreign Affairs Forum*, 340 West 42d Street, New York City. Works primarily in settlement houses; broadcasts programs in adult education.

*Foreign Policy Association*, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Promotes discussion groups and institutes; furnishes information without attempting to promote any special cause; publishes *Weekly Bulletin*, *Foreign Policy Reports*, *Headline Books*. Very reasonable rates for membership and literature. *Washington News Letter*, weekly, except July and August.

*Institute of International Education*, 2 West 45th Street, New York City. American headquarters for exchange professors and students; interested in developing intellectual good will through education; information furnished on international fellowships and conferences.

*Institute of Pacific Relations*, 129 East 52d Street, New York City and Honolulu, T. H. Entirely unofficial; established to study relations between various countries located in the Pacific area; promotes coöperative study through summer institutes, reports of which are published in press, and bulletins.

*League of Nations Association*, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Publications: *Chronicle of World Affairs*; *Essential Facts about the League*; *Brief History of the League of Nations*; conducts annual competitive examination on the League of Nations for high-school students, first prize a trip to Europe; organizes model assemblies of the League; has prepared material for use in high schools in this and related connections.

*No Frontiers News Service*, Wilton, Connecticut. Gets information not otherwise obtainable, because of censorship, about popular movements and makes clear underlying conditions; designed primarily for newspapers but can be obtained under special conditions. Subscription price low; one-sheet news service entitled *World Events*, published twice a month, except July and August.

*Pan American Union*, 17th Street, Washington, D. C. Active in promoting inter-American friendship; distributes material to elementary and secondary schools and clubs in connection with Pan-America Day; issues monthly magazine during school year.

*Social Science Research Council*, 330 Park Avenue, New York City. Exists for the one comprehensive purpose of advancing the study of man in his relation to man; a central organization for the coördination of planning in research in the social sciences in this country.

*Student Forum on the Paris Pact*, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. publishes pamphlet *The Paris Pact and International Relations*, which includes some 36 projects suggesting things to be done in the study of international relations in the high schools; furnishes free kit on the teaching of Paris Pact in schools.

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Issues *Pax International* monthly, and, more frequently, a branch letter; publishes programs for high-school assemblies and similar gatherings; has loan libraries on international subjects to be obtained by schools; pamphlets and material available on the Munitions Industry Investigation, neutrality legislation, education for peace-mindedness in schools.

*World Peace Foundation*, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, and 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Distributes valuable material on the waste, destructiveness, and evil effects of war; promotes international justice and the brotherhood of man by every practical means.

### *Groups Seeking Constructive Legislation*

*Department of International Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches*. See article in this issue.

*League of Nations Association*. See above.

*National Council for the Prevention of War*, 532 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.;



205 Sheldon Building, San Francisco, California. Clearing house 32 national organizations; publishes monthly magazine, *Peace Action*; its nine departments furnish material for varied types of peace activities.

*National Peace Conference*, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Advocates definite programs and policies for furtherance of world peace by promoting greater unification and coöperation among 17 national peace organizations and 17 national organizations with active peace committees; material available upon peace as a political issue, increasing military and naval expenditures; individuals interested in the peace movement are mobilized for action at times upon specific issues relating to the policies of the council. Publishes a series of authoritative and concise "World Affairs Books."

*Public Action*, Room 4412, RCA Building, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. Furnishes information to its members when it believes concerted action in behalf of a particular piece of legislation affecting international peace will be effective.

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 532 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. See above.

*World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches*, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Welcomes men and women of all religious faiths and political affiliations; 875 coöperating centers, covering every State and 16 centers in Canada, Hawaii, and the Philippines; *News Letter* on international affairs is published bimonthly,

*World Peaceways*, 103 Park Avenue, New York City. Youngest of the peace societies; uses modern advertising methods: peace posters and post cards and other publicity material available designed to reach the masses of American people not being reached by other organized peace efforts.

### *Pacifists and War Resisters*

*The Fellowship of Reconciliation*, 2929 Broadway, New York City. American branch of a purely pacifist association, organized in twenty-three countries; repudiates war, exploitation, and racial discrimination and seeks to apply the principles of Jesus to all group relationships; publishes interracial news letter, dealing especially with whites and Negroes, pamphlets, literature, and occasional news releases. A monthly magazine *Fellowship*; encourages the teaching and study of pacifism and nonviolence.

*New History Society* and *Green International*, 132 East 65th Street, New York City. Students' league from among the schools and colleges of the world; membership now over five thousand; sponsors essay contests; encourages friendship among the children of all countries by means of the exchange of correspondence; publishes *The Children's Caravan*, *The Caravan*, and *New History*.

*Peace Patriots*, 114 East 31st Street, New York City. Material available on the thesis "that absolute pacifism is consistent with true patriotism." Publishes a monthly bulletin, *The Arbitrator*.

*War Registers League*, 171 West 12th Street, New York City. Holds philosophy that war will cease when men refuse to fight; declares war is a crime against humanity; attempts to get pledges not to fight; distributes large number of publications on war resistance.

*Women's Peace Union*, 2 Stone Street, New York City. Urges the adoption of the Frazier Amendment making all war and preparation for war by the United States illegal.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Under the Axe of Fascism*, by GAETANO SALVEMINI. New York: Viking Press, 1936, 402 pages.

To those, intentionally or through superficial knowledge and acceptance of official statements at face value, who have woven a halo about the corporative state and made a "knightly Saint George" of Mussolini, this book is an effective refutation. The author, formerly professor of history at Florence, has presented a carefully documented analysis of official pronouncements, the current Italian press, and the many American and English interpretations. Limiting the field to "those institutions through which Fascism claims to have solved the relations between capital and labor," he draws continual contrasts between the "complete trade-union liberty" and the freedom of the employer's associations, declared in official documents for world consumption, and the specific practice of absolute dictatorship, in which the ballot is but a hollow ritual. The book is an interesting analysis of the propaganda of nationalism.

*Militarism in Japan*, by KENNETH W. COLEGROVE. New York: World Peace Foundation, 1936, 78 pages.

Through documented analysis, the author traces the development of militarism in Japan and its present dominance. In the concluding pages, the author briefly describes the cross currents which may curb the continual dominance of the military.

This is No. 16 of the series "World Affairs Pamphlets" the publication of which has been recently transferred to the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Other recent publications in the series include:

No. 10. *War and Depression*, by J. D. Condliffe

No. 13. *America Must Act*, by Francis Bowes Sayre

No. 14. *Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War*, by Sir Norman Angell

No. 15. *Latin America*, by Stephen P. Duggan

No. 17. *The Cotton South and the American Trade Policy*, by Peter Molyneux

The following are in preparation:

"What is War," "Conflicts of Policy in the Far East," "The Economic

Need of an Organized World," "Armaments and Taxes," "Why Science Indicts War," and many others.

*Can China Survive?* by HALLETT ABEND and ANTHONY J. BILLINGHAM. New York: Ives Washburn, 1936, 317 pages.

To the question posed in the title, these two able foreign correspondents give a negative answer. Such an outlook is based upon more than ten years of close, first-hand observation of movements and affairs in the Orient. However, these events are recorded clearly and impartially and are presented so obviously as an uncolored recording of events that the reader closes this stimulating and extremely interesting volume with the feeling of the authors that the final catastrophe cannot be much longer delayed.

*The Rise of Liberalism*, by HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, 327 pages.

Although historical and a careful tracing of the development of liberalism through the last four centuries, this volume is more than history. Through the perspective of the past, the author evaluates the doctrine of liberalism in its application to the present, both here and abroad.

To those not familiar with Laski's previous books, this will be a stimulating introduction; those who have followed his other writings will find the same forceful style that has made the author the "most important publicist of left-wing ideas writing in the English language."

*The Middle Classes, Then and Now*, by FRANKLIN C. PALM. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 421 pages.

This book fills a long-felt need. Many writers have bandied the words "middle class," but this is the first comprehensive analysis of the historical development and changing status of this potentially powerful group. The author has maintained a fine, objective viewpoint, yet has written forcefully and convincingly. It will be of as much interest to the layman as to the scholar and teacher.

*The Future of Liberty*, by GEORGE SOULE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 187 pages.

Written in the forceful and interesting style that has won him recognition, the author analyzes the American traditions of freedom, democracy, and equality, and the nature of the new social order toward which we are tending. In the present period of unrest and confusion this book sounds a challenging and optimistic note.

*Political and Diplomatic History of Russia*, by GEORGE VERNADSKY.  
Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936, 499 pages.

Naturalized citizen No. 3,649,426 is George Vernadsky, who has been since 1927 research associate in history at Yale University. From 1914 to 1920 he was professor of Russian history in several Russian universities, traveled extensively, and watched with the eye of a historian the making of history at breath-taking speed around him.

In this volume he has summarized in brief chapters on successive chronological periods the entire history of Russia from its earliest beginnings to the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations in 1935. He has neither spared nor blamed but, with the objectivity of a trained historian, has recorded in clear, forceful style the on-moving of events in the "Land of the Bear."

*The Theory of International Trade*, by GOTTFRIED VON HABERLER.  
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 408 pages.

To those who have sought to analyze even a few of the tangled threads of international finance, this book comes as a very welcome contribution. The author, a member of the Financial Section of the League of Nations, has avoided the oversimplification of the so-called classical theory, and has shown by painstaking analysis the necessity of applying the same general economic principles of domestic trade (imperfect competition and business cycles) to the larger problems of international commercial policies. Through simple but carefully drawn analogies and many specific illustrations the author has succeeded in making a formidable subject both interesting and intelligible.

*Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow*, by RABBI LEE J. LEVINGER.  
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, 334 pages.

The author analyzes the social, economic, and political factors that

have lifted anti-Semitism from a local problem of isolated areas to a world phenomena. He emphasizes the fact that such persecutions are not against the Jews as such, but are against any alien dominating group.

The book is earnestly commended both to the layman and to the student of this extremely important problem.

The reader is also referred to the following issues of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

July 1934, "World Trend Toward Nationalism"

May 1935, "Pressure Groups and Propaganda"

July 1935, "Socialism, Fascism and Democracy"

July 1936, "The Attainment and Maintenance of World Peace"

*The Spanish Tragedy: 1930-1936, Dictatorship, Republic, Chaos*, by E. ALLISON PEERS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936 (Third edition); xi + 223 pages.

A well-documented record of events in Spain beginning with the dictatorship of Don Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja, otherwise known as Primo de Rivera. The hectic and complicated period that followed, with the establishment of the Republic, the government of the Left, the government of the Centre-Right, and then finally the collapse into chaos, is extremely well told. It is worth the time of any student of politics to read this account of how a country may by various mismanagements come into inevitable disorganization. The panorama of factual data presented gives a valuable perspective on the present situation in Spain.

*Under the Swastika*, by JOHN B. HOLT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936, 261 pages.

Forcefully and with unusual dramatic quality, the author relives his experiences in Germany during the epochal years 1931 to 1935. He describes objectively the major political, economic, educational, and religious changes which sanctified the state and the "Volk"—the national-racial group. It is likewise an excellent study in propaganda, the last short chapter only indicating the continued existence of an inner resistance against complete collectivism of thought and action.

*Spain in Revolt*, by HARRY GANNES AND THEODORE REPARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937 (revised to 1937), 235 pages.

The authors, newspaper men who have been both students of Spain's past and direct observers of the current struggle, have given a clear, forceful analysis of the social, political, and economic causes of the revolt and an accurate portrayal of events to January 1937. The vital issues at stake, the possibility that Spain will again become the battleground of the Great Powers, the paucity of authoritative material in English, and the clear organization and interesting presentation of the authors should make an unprecedented demand for this book.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Measurement of Urban Home Environment*, by ALICE M. LEAHY. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

*Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, April 1936*. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund.

*New Faces, New Futures*, by MAXWELL MALTZ. New York: Richard R. Smith.

*Neutrality. Its History, Economics and Law*, Vol. IV, *Today and Tomorrow*, by PHILLIP C. JESSUP. New York: Columbia University Press.

*Our America*, by ADOLPH GILLIS AND ROLAND KETCHUM. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

*Our American Heritage*, by L. S. COYLE AND W. P. EVANS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

*Patriotism Prepaid*, by LEWIS J. GORIN, JR. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

*Personality*, by HAROLD V. GASKILL. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

*Physiology of Love*, by PAOLO MONTEGAZZA. New York: Eugenics Publishing Company.

*Problems of Child Welfare*, by GEORGE B. MANGOLD. New York: The Macmillan Company.

*Prostitution in the Modern World*, by GLADYS M. HALL. New York: Emerson Books, Inc.

*Psychology and Modern Problems*, edited by J. A. HADFIELD. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.



